Sec 32

EQUAL RIGHTS

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President Reaffirms Stand On Amendment

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS SERIAL RECORD
OCT 19 1945

By ANNA KELTON WILEY

ON Friday, September 21st, a deputation of six advocates of the Equal Rights Amendment, led by **Mrs. Emma Guffey Miller,** Democratic Co-Chairman of the Congressional Committee of the National Woman's Party, and Democratic National Committeewoman for Pennsylvania, had an interview with President Truman, in which he reaffirmed his stand for the amendment.

The members of the deputation were **Mrs. U. S. Guyer** (Kansas), Republican Co-Chairman of the National Woman's Party's Congressional Committee; **Dr. Mary Sinclair Crawford** (California), representing the National Education Association, former Dean of Women of the University of Southern California, member of the National Advisory Committee of the N. W. P., President of the Women's International Association of Aeronautics, President of the Women's Legislative Council of California and the former Chairman of Legislation of the Los Angeles Branch of the American Association of University Women, which has endorsed the Equal Rights Amendment; **Miss Ella Sherwin** (New York), member of Typographical Union No. 6 and National President of the Industrial Women's League for Equality; **Dr. Alma Speer** (Texas), representing the American Medical Women's Association, Inc., and I (D. C.), as a former Chairman of the N. W. P. and now as Chairman of Legislation of the General Federation of Women's Clubs. All six are members of the National Woman's Party.

Mrs. Miller began the interview by reminding the President of his cordial letter of April 20, 1944, endorsing the Equal Rights Amendment, reading:

> "Say to them that I am in sympathy with their fight for the Equal Rights Amendment because I think it will improve the standard of living by setting a level on wages equal for both sexes.
>
> "I have no fear of its effect on the home life of the American people. Nearly every man has his woman on a pedestal anyway and this will only make the legal aspects of the situation more satisfactory from the standpoint of legal rights of the women of the country."

She also reminded him of his reassurance on April 26, 1945, when he met the Democratic leaders of Pennsylvania. The President interposed at this point that he was also a member of the Democratic Platform Committee, at the National Democratic Convention in 1944, and that at that time voted to include the Equal Rights Amendment plank in the platform when Mrs. Miller spoke. Mrs. Miller interrupted him to comment: "Yes, and we won the endorsement of the Amendment by an overwhelming vote." The President then added if any Senator should express disapproval of the Amendment, he should be asked why he had voted for either ticket, last fall, as both parties had included endorsement of the Amendment in their platforms.

The President then said that he still stood for the amendment and never went back on his word, to which statement we all gave hearty assent.

Mrs. Miller spoke feelingly of the United Nations Charter, just ratified by the Senate, in which in five places the principle of equality of the sexes is plainly set forth. The President interposed the remark at that point that only two members of the Senate voted against the Charter. Mrs. Miller then laid before the President the list of thirty-one State Governors who have endorsed the Amendment and the list of 31 national women's organizations which have gone on record for the Amendment.

Mrs. Miller first introduced Mrs. Guyer, as the widow of Representative U. S. Guyer of Kansas, an old friend of the President's, the former ranking Republican Member of the House Judiciary Committee, who for years was a sponsor of the Equal Rights Amendment and an ardent advocate of its passage. Mrs. Miller reminded the President of the great prestige of Kansas, as the home State of Representative Daniel Anthony and of Vice-President Charles Curtis, the first introducers of the Amendment, in both House and Senate, on December 10, 1923.

Dr. Speer, representing the American Medical Women's Association, which has endorsed the Equal Rights Amendment many times, told the President that the women doctors and surgeons were looking forward with apprehension to the time six months hence, when women physicians would no longer be regarded as "persons" in the eyes of the law. Dr. Speer explained that the Act of September 22, 1941, permitting the President to appoint "qualified persons" in the U. S. Army, had been construed by the Comptroller General as not applying to women, and that a special act of Congress had to be passed permitting the inclusion of female physicians in the Army and Navy for the duration and six months thereafter. And then, much to the amusement of the President, Dr. Speer added that she wanted to continue to be a "person."

Miss Ella Sherwin, of New York City, president of the Industrial Women's League for Equality, consisting of members of Unions affiliated with both the C. I. O. and the A. F. of L., who has been in industry all her life and knows the industrial condition of women in New York State before they started protective laws for women, as well as after the special protective laws for women were passed, stated: "If protective laws for women have saved a few women from hardship, the vast majority of women have suffered from these laws out of all proportion to the gains secured by the few who have benefited."

Dean Mary Sinclair Crawford, coming from the far West, reported the keen interest in her section of the country in having this important legislation passed immediately. She said: "It is important not only for the benefit of the people today but because of its great significance for coming generations. It is especially relevant," she said, "in view of the equal rights provisions in the United Nations Charter, just signed in my state. The United States, having ratified this Charter, is now under moral obligations to bring its laws into harmony with this modern Magna Carta."

I had the pleasure of informing the President that the General Federation of Women's Clubs, consisting of two and a half million women had gone on record for the Amendment by a poll of the 16,500 clubs, and that of the clubs voting, the poll was 6 to 1 in favor. I told him of the enthusiasm of our members, at our St. Louis Convention in April, 1944, when his letter, written as Senator from Missouri to Mrs. Miller, was read aloud, endorsing the Equal Rights Amendment. I stated that the Resolution submitted to the clubs stressed the idea that equal legal status for men and women was imperative because of the added dignity it would give to women and that the effort to emancipate the individual and lend dignity to human beings was the goal of our civilization.

As the deputation left the sunny, beautiful room, where our Chief Executive is in constant conference with citizens of this and of other countries, Mrs. Miller smilingly queried: "Then I may be authorized to state, Mr. President, that you are still for the Equal Rights Amendment?" and the President gave assent.

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STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACTS OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AND MARCH 3, 1933.

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District of Columbia: ss.

Before me, a Notary Public, in and for the District aforesaid, personally appeared Dora G. Ogle, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that she is the Business Manager of the EQUAL RIGHTS publication, and that the following is, to the best of her knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Act of March 3, 1933, embodied in section 537, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher, National Woman's Party, 144 B Street, N. E., Washington, D. C.

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Business Manager: Mrs. Dora G. Ogle, 144 B St. N. E., Washington, D. C.

2. That the owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, must be given.)

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5. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the twelve months preceding the date shown above is: (This information is required from daily publications only.)

DORA G. OGLE, Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 17th day of September, 1945.
CHAS. E. ALDEN, Notary Public, D. C.
(My commission expires August 27, 1947.)

Cardinal Agrees With The President

By CECIL NORTON BROY, *Political Chairman of National Woman's Party, and* MARY SINCLAIR CRAWFORD, *National Advisory Committee of National Woman's Party*

His Eminence Dennis Cardinal Daugherty, the ranking American Prelate of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States, received us at the Cardinal's palace in Philadelphia on Saturday, September 22nd, and he discussed with us, for nearly an hour, the Equal Rights Amendment and matters relating to the securing of full constitutional rights for women.

His Eminence was most gracious and sympathetic, which was not surprising in view of the stand which he had taken in the matter of Catholic organizations of women physicians in the mission field.

As a result of a now famous brief presented by the Cardinal, His Holiness Pope Benedict gave permission for such an organization with instructions that nuns should now be allowed to attend medical schools. This progressive action by the Church was taken because of the realization that there are forms of service for women outside the home.

The Cardinal emphasied during the interview that the Equal Rights Amendment is a matter of a right principle and that it is now time that the women of the country have their full legal rights. In confirmation of this, he wrote the following letter:

CARDINAL'S OFFICE
225 N. 18TH STREET
PHILADELPHIA 4, PA.

MRS. CECIL NORTON BROY
and
DR. MARY SINCLAIR CRAWFORD.

My Dear Ladies:

Apropos of the Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution, according to which it is proposed to give women full constitutional rights, I am glad to hear from you that His Excellency, President Truman, and also the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives are heartily in favor of this Amendment. Personally I agree with them in this matter.

Respectfully yours,
(*Signed*) † D. CARD. DAUGHERTY,
Abp. of Phila.

This is the greatest encouragement to all women, not least to the members of the St. Joan Society.

We journeyed back to Washington with a feeling of deep gratitude that the head of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States of America is a man of such vision and understanding.

[EDITOR'S NOTE—*It was of especial interest to the Cardinal that those Catholic members of the Judiciary Committee of the House who had previously voted against the amendment had now voted favorably for it.*]

The Capacity And Power Of Women

"Who can measure the advantages that would result if the magnificent abilities of women could be devoted to the needs of government, society and home, instead of being consumed in the struggle to obtain their birthright of individual freedom? Until this be gained, we can never know, we can not even prophesy the capacity and power of women for uplifting humanity. It may be delayed longer than we think, it may be here sooner than we expect, but the day will come when man will recognize woman as his peer, not only at the fireside, but in the councils of the nation. Then and not until then, will there be the perfect comradeship, the ideal union between the sexes that shall result in the highest development of the race."

—SUSAN B. ANTHONY.

Hearing On The Equal Rights Amendment

Before the Sub-committee of the Senate Judiciary Committee - - September 28, 1945

By HELENA HILL WEED

MEN and women packed to overflowing the small chamber of the Senate Judiciary Committee when the Hearing was called to order, at 10 A. M., while hundreds stood in the hall in the vain hope that some of those inside would leave and give them a chance to enter.

As the Hearing progressed, the doors, contrary to custom, were opened to give those nearest them the chance to catch a word. This situation prevailed throughout the entire day. Interested Senators not on the sub-committee had to fairly fight their way in to find seats at the long center table reserved for them.

Senator Hatch (D.) of New Mexico presided, assisted by Senator Moore (R.) of Oklahoma, and Senator Radcliffe (D.) of Maryland, our sponsor, Senator Wherry (R.) of Nebraska, and Senator Capehart (R.) of Indiana, were among the Senators who left the floor of the Senate (which was in session throughout the Hearing) to listen to the arguments. Senator McCarren (D.) of Nevada, Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, was an attentive and interested listener through much of the day, and Senator O'Mahoney attended briefly.

Senator Willis (R.) of Indiana, at the opening of the Hearing, presented to the Committee, Miss Agnes E. Wells of Indiana (who spoke later), as "one of the most distinguished and influential women of his State, a woman whom," he was proud to say, "Indiana regarded with pride and respect." He expressed his deep regret that his duties on the floor of the Senate, during the special morning session, prevented his remaining at the Hearing—as was the case with many other Senators—but he commended Miss Wells to the Committee as a representative of Indiana thought and conviction.

At the outset, Senator Hatch said that he felt that the Amendment had received so many extended and comprehensive hearings through the past 23 years that the hearing today was quite unnecessary, but that since several constitutional amendments were now before his Sub-Committee, this further opportunity should be accorded any who wished to present arguments. Pointing to a tall stack of documents and statements already sent in writing to the Committee, all of which would receive due consideration in executive session later, he expressed the hope that oral arguments would be as brief as possible.

Senator Radcliffe opened the Hearing by expressing his great satisfaction in having had the honor of introducing the Amendment in the Senate, and his deep regret that he would be unable to remain for the Hearing because he had important business requiring his presence on the Senate floor at the special morning session.

He then introduced Mrs. Emma Guffey Miller, complimenting her for her ability and political acumen, and turning over to her the direction of the morning session of the Hearing.

Mrs. Emma Guffey Miller, Democratic Co-Chairman of our Congressional Committee, then took charge of our presentation and made a brief speech on the general principles of justice, equality and democracy which motivated the demand for the Amendment. As the hearing progressed, she interlarded her introductions with pertinent statements pointing up and sharpening the testimony presented by our 35 speakers who represented the 31 national organizations of women which have endorsed the Amendment, and the hundreds of State, regional, and local groups which also support it.

The first witness was **Anna Kelton Wiley,** wife of the late Dr. Harvey W. Wiley, the great exponent of pure food legislation. Mrs. Wiley is the Chairman of Legislation of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, an organization of two and one-half million women, which went on record by a poll of its clubs of 6-1 in favor of the Amendment. Mrs. Wiley stressed the fact that this action was taken after several years of intensive study by the clubs, and was based on the Biblical principles to which Thomas Jefferson resorted when he wrote the Declaration of Independence, namely, that God created man and woman in his own image and charged them together with the duty of subduing the earth and having dominion over it, as related in the first chapter of Genesis. The doctrine of the Declaration would be achieved by adoption of the Amendment, and would be denied by a refusal to clarify the Constitution with respect to the "inalienable human rights" of women as persons, people, and citizens within the meaning of the law, she stated.

Mrs. Wiley also quoted Dr. Ernest R. Groves, noted Professor of Sociology at the University of North Carolina, who said:

> The protective legislation for women which has developed in the United States served well as a temporary scaffolding when woman was so legally and socially limited that she was unable to defend her own interests but it has now become an anachronism, a structure out of accord with the progress toward the equality of the sexes that has already taken place in this country. It is never easy to remove advances accomplished through struggle and sacrifice but the forward going of woman's welfare cannot be anchored even in the benevolence of the early years of this century. The interests of women have already matured beyond the need for a legislative guardianship and now require legal equality with men.

Next appeared a brilliant young lawyer from New Jersey, **Miss Anna B. Hogan,** whose witty argument that women must be recognized as legal persons, when rights were at stake, since the law regarded them as persons when duties and penalties were involved, brought loud applause.

Cheers from the proponents of the Amendment greeted the **Hon. Orlo Brees,** member of the New York State Legislature, who sponsored the Memorial adopted unanimously by both its Senate and Assembly, calling on Congress to submit the Amendment forthwith to the States for action.

In a moving speech, he said he not only represented Jeannette Marks, State Chairman of the New York Branch of the N. W. P. and her staunch comrade, Dr. Mary Woolley, President Emeritus of Mt. Holyoke College and past President of the American Association of University Women, but he spoke for someone who always stood at his side, unseen by others—his mother, a woman, who by carpet weaving, had supported his invalid father and himself until he left home as a young man to make his own way.

> "I can still see that old loom, worn down by my mother's fingers as she toiled under unfair conditions to meet the economic burdens that she bore so nobly, and I want to do everything in my power, as she would have done, to create a world where women will have fair play in the competition of life."

Mr. Brees said he had been very proud to help wipe off the blot on the national escutcheon by securing the adoption of the Memorial of the New York State Legislature to Congress, and to speak for the Amendment in the very building in the Capital City where the early women leaders were derided and locked out. "I consider it a high privilege," he continued, "to argue that women should have the full right to manage their own affairs, and be treated with the same respect that is paid to men." Flouting the claim that maternity legislation would be wiped out by giving women the same civil liberty that men enjoy, he said that parenthood was a partnership affair in which both parents should have an equal interest, personally and legally; that protection of the home and childhood, including protection of the pregnant mother, was a legitimate concern of the State which would in no wise be hampered by extending constitutional equality to all persons, men and women alike. He concluded by urging celerity in action for submission of the Amendment.

Dr. Agnes Wells, Dean Emeritus of Indiana University, who has occupied many posts of dignity and honor in the educational world, including that of Vice-President of the American Association of University Women, and is now Chairman of the University Women's Committee of the N. W. P., appealed for a Bill of Rights for Women, in the name of the college women who support the Amendment as the only just and permanent way to achieve civil liberty.

Next, **Miss Agnes Wynn,** Assistant Director of the Legislative Division of the National Education Association, recorded the endorsement of the Amendment by that Association in 1942, and made a special plea on behalf of women teachers who are discriminated against in the matters of salary and tenure on the ground of sex.

Alice Morgan Wright, noted sculptor of Albany, N. Y., who represented the N. W. P. in San Francisco in pleading the equality cause at the United Nations Conference, next cited the clauses in the text of the Charter endorsing unequivocally this principle and pledging the member nations to observe it in practice. She described dramatically the sessions during which the question of its inclusion in the Charter was argued, giving special credit for the overwhelming victory to Field Marshal Smuts, Lord Cranborne, and the men and women from all over the world who were determined that the sex equality principle should be recognized and supported by the United Nations.

Ella M. Sherwin, President of the Industrial League for Equality, an independent organization of industrial women, each of whom is a member of the trade union movement, which is working for the Equal Rights Amendment, then addressed the Committee. Miss Sherwin is a member of the A. F. of L. Typographical Union No. 6, and she introduced and spoke for her companion, Mrs. Kathryn Withrow, a member of C. I. O., who was prevented from talking by a cold. They emphasized the fact that many women in the Trade Union movement were demanding the Amendment as a necessary protection for their industrial security and progress of both men and women.

At this point, **Dr. Mary Sinclair Crawford,** former Dean of Women at the University of Southern California, and representing the Women's Legislative Council of California—an organization of hundreds of women in industry and the professions whose sole objective is to secure the adoption of the Amendment—produced a veritable sensation when she recounted a recent audience with His Eminence, Dennis, Cardinal Dougherty, ranking prelate of the Catholic Church in the United States. She presented for inclusion in the proceedings of the Committee a letter signed by him for recording his favorable attitude toward the Amendment. The letter appears in this issue. Its reading was apparently a great blow to some of those present who have diligently tried to make it appear that the Catholic Church was officially opposed to the Amendment, despite the fact that many Church dignitaries have stated publicly that Rome had never spoken on this issue and that Catholics, as citizens in a free republic, had the same right as other citizens to take a stand on this principle.

Next, **Mrs. Nina Horton Avery** of Richmond, Virginia, representing the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs which has repeatedly endorsed the Amendment, called the attention of the Committee to the fact that the Comptroller-General had ruled, in 1943, that the law passed by the Congress authorizing the commissioning of *qualified persons* to serve as doctors with the armed services did not apply to women doctors, since they were not legal persons. She reminded them that it had been necessary to pass another law stating specifically that "licensed female physicians and surgeons" might serve their country in a professional capacity before the urgent plea of the Medical Services for 600 women doctors could be met. "The civil rights of professional and business women are at stake in this Amendment, and must be met just as much as those of industrial women," she declared.

Then came **Mrs. Nora Stanton Barney,** granddaughter of the Pioneer, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, the greatest exponent of civil liberty for American women our country has ever produced.

Mrs. Barney, who is now Chairman of the National Advisory Committee of the N. W. P., referred to the fact that the only Resolution that was not adopted unanimously at the Seneca Falls Conference in 1848—the Ninth, calling for the right of Suffrage—was the only one of the twelve Resolutions which had been written into permanent law in the 97 years of struggle for the emancipation of women. Not one of the other claims to constitutional equality of rights between men and women has been achieved, and women are still pleading for those human rights and fundamental freedoms which all men enjoy as citizens and persons.

In closing, she quoted Lucretia Mott on the marriage relationship as follows: "In the true marriage relation, the individuality of husband and wife are equal, their dependence is mutual and their obligations are reciprocal."

Doris Stevens, of New York, who was U. S. member and Chairman of the Inter-American Commission of Women during its first ten years of existence, gave an example from her Latin-American work of the irresponsible conduct of the opponents of equal rights, in harrassing and confusing adherents of equality. She told how Sidney Hillman, during the Pan-American Conference at Lima, Peru, in 1938, when a resolution on the enfranchisement of the women of the Latin-American nations was under discussion and when no economic questions were under consideration cabled Secretary Hull, chief of the United States delegation to tell the conference that Mr. Hillman was opposed to the Equal Rights Amendment to the United States Constitution. This was most disconcerting to the Latin-American delegates, since a proposed amendment to the U. S. Constitution can have no standing in a diplomatic conference.

"The time has come to abandon the luxury of merely supporting a principle and to translate that belief into action", said Miss Stevens in closing. "At a time when we are constantly invited to give attention to the problems of distant lands and peoples, it is well that we come together to put our own house in order."

Dr. Mildred W. Dickerson, representing the Asso-

ciation of American Women Dentists, next recorded the strong continuing support of her group for the Amendment, and was followed by **Miss Mary Downey**, Chairman of the D. C. Branch of the N. W. P. and Librarian of the Florence Bayard Hilles Library at national headquarters, urged the need for the Amendment to give the women of the United States an equal position with the women of China and Russia, who have already won complete civil and political freedom.

Miss Mary Kennedy of Indiana, representing the National Association of Women, an organization existing solely to win the adoption of the Amendment, said its membership in Indiana included the Indiana Federation of Women's Clubs, the Business and Professional Women, the Association of Women Lawyers, Pilot International (a service club group), the May Wright Sewell Council, and other groups. Speaking as a school teacher, she aroused ripples of laughter when she placed in the record a copy of her contract as a teacher, which stipulated that if she married her contract was automatically terminated. "School teachers need the Amendment," she said, "to protect their civil right to engage in lawful occupations without being denied the right to marry."

Mrs. Ellis A. Schnabel of Philadelphia, Executive Secretary of the American Council for Equal Legal Status for Men and Women, included in her remarks a story about Martin Luther, who wrote to a friend, "My rib and I send greetings to your rib and you." "Women are still merely man's rib in the eyes of the common law which controls their civil rights," said Mrs. Schnabel, "but we think it is time to discard the theory that bones and muscles are the sole factors in life. We must stress the spirit today. No man in the world would be content to remain in personal subjection to other favored classes—and neither are women."

Mrs. Mary Church Terrill, past President of the National Association of Colored Women, said to the Committee: "When I graduated from Oberlin University, 61 years ago, I had learned the lesson for all time of the meaning of justice to sex and race. To its everlasting praise, Oberlin College, in 1833, 30 years before the Civil War, was the first college to open its doors to a handicapped sex and to an enslaved race. The National Association of Colored Women endorses heartily the Equal Rights Amendment and the principles of justice which underlie it."

Miss Anita Pollitzer, Chairman of the New York City Committee of the N. W. P., told of a recent speaking trip across the United States, on her way to and from the United Nations Conference, and assured the committee that the demand for the Amendment was nationwide and insistent. Reminding the Committee that the Amendment had been voted on favorably by its members three times already, she urged them to pass favorably on it now and help women end the struggle for emancipation.

Other representatives who rose to record the position of the groups they appeared for, were **Dr. Florence Armstrong**, for the Soroptimists; **Mrs. Elizabeth Osgood**, for the Avalon National Poetry Shrine; **Dorothy Spinks**, for the Alpha Iota Sorority, an organization of business school graduates who are now secretaries and office executives; **Mrs. Helen Hunt West** of Florida, attorney, representing Marjorie Varner, Florida State Chairman of the N. W. P.; **Miss Gertrude Crocker**, for Gertrude Robbins, Illinois State Chairman, N. W. P.; **Mrs. Margaret Hopkins Worrell**, President of Wheel of Progress and speaking also for the Ladies of the Grand Army of the Republic; **Mrs. Rudolph Vincenti**, of the Democratic Citywide Club of Baltimore; and **Mrs. Elsie Graff**, Virginia State Chairman, N. W. P.

Laura Berrien, former National President of the National Association of Women Lawyers, humorously riddled some of the supposedly legal arguments against the Amendment, and expressed the opinion of her group—which was the first national organization of women to join the movement for the Amendment initiated by the N. W. P.—by charging that "the flimsy objection that the Amendment will lead to litigation was the shabbiest excuse that had ever been advanced in opposition to a demand for legal reform in the interest of justice."

Mrs. Miller closed the morning session by thanking the committee for its interest and attention to the proponents and submitted numerous extended written arguments on the legal aspects of the case.

"The real basis of our plea," she said, "is that women want to be legal persons. They want even handed justice, as citizens and an integral part of the people. Former Attorney General Homer Cummings said, 'It seems to me that the Equal Rights Amendment is in entire harmony with the Constitution. Both contain fundamental principles.' We women agree with him. We want to see that the inscription above the portals of the Supreme Court—EQUAL JUSTICE UNDER LAW—be made a living reality."

OPPOSITION

The afternoon session was taken over by the opposition who argued that adoption of the Amendment would automatically invalidate all protective laws, and prevent the enactment of such legislation in the future.

The following persons who spoke for the opposition were introduced by **Mrs. James Austin Stone**, representing the National Women's Trade Union League; **Mr. Marvin Harrison**, of Cleveland, for the National Consumers' League, and the National Committee to Defeat the Unequal Rights Amendment; **Mr. Frank Donner**, representing the Congress of Industrial Organizations; **Mrs. Anna Murphy**, for the CIO Ship Yard Workers; **Miss Shirley Hall**, textile worker, for the CIO; **Mrs. Joseph Lowe**, National Council of Jewish Women; **Mrs. Ted Silvey**, National Civil Liberties Union; **Mrs. Blanch Freedman**, National Women's Trade Union League; **Al Philip Kane**, Legal Counsel for the National Federation of Telephone Workers; **Irma Piepho**, National Council of Catholic Women; **Paul Sifton**, Union for Democratic Action; **Miss Selma Borchard**, American Federation of Labor; **Maida Springer**, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; **Miss Anna Lord Strauss**, President, National League of Women Voters; **Miss Mary Anderson**, former head of the Women's Bureau, who filed a statement of former Secretary of Labor Perkins; **Elizabeth S. Magee**, National Consumers' League, and **Miss Frieda Miller**, Chief, Women's Bureau, of the U. S. Department of Labor.

We are all so familiar with the objections which they made that it seems hardly necessary to repeat them here. We feel that the learned lawyers on the Senate Judiciary Committee will be competent to appraise them at their legal value.

These male lawyers scorned the great fundamental doctrines of human liberty and fundamental freedoms all through their arguments.

"Now Liberty is another one of these treacherous, slippery words," said one of the lawyers. He denounced the "spurious equality of the Amendment which was being sold as real equality" and he insisted (without proof) that it would not touch substantial discriminations now existing. "You women are being fooled," he shouted to our side, "and the Constitution would be saddled with something bad."

We wondered if he would be willing to have the equal protection of the law clause for men eliminated from the Constitution—as it should be if its guarantees are "spurious".

"Equality isn't important unless it produces what you want," he said at another point, "and your Amendment won't do that." We felt we were willing to try that method, even in the face of his pontifications.

Another CIO lawyer declared that he was shocked that our side failed to recognize the biological differences between men and women, but we still remained calm, knowing that womanhood was not a chronic disease, as he seemed to think.

He was greatly concerned that property laws would be upset by the Amendment, perhaps not realizing that unjust property

laws were one of the main causes of the feminine revolt against the common law edicts.

They argued that we should secure reforms by State legislation, thinking perhaps that we did not know the insecurity of such laws compared to the lasting protection against injustice in constitutional guarantees.

The lawyer for the Union for Democratic Action tried to be funny at our expense. Characterizing the Amendment as "clumsy, reckless, and harmful," he asked whether we wanted to be allowed to do parachute jumping and run army tanks—apparently not knowing that women had done these things during the war without harmful results. He tried in vain to show that we were divided in our councils because some of our speakers or writers had not used exactly the same arguments that others had.

One of the few speakers not representing the left wing of the labor movement was Anna Lord Strauss, National President of the League of Women Voters. One part of her speech was particularly illuminating, for it explained why such a representative group of fine American women continued to oppose this reform so essential for all women.

> "We endorse heartily . . . universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, without distinctions as to race, sex, language, or religion. In our opinion the Equal Rights Amendment is not the proper method in this country for reaching the goal . . ."

"There are two reasons why it is not," said said. She then said that "laws governing the legal status of women in the United States always have been and still are the concern of the States"—apparently forgetting that this State power, *unrestricted by constitutional limitations protecting inalienable human rights*, is the very thing the Amendment is designed to destroy. Her second reason for opposition was that the Amendment would jeopardize existing protective laws for women, throw the courts into confusion, in the field of State legislation particularly with reference to wage-hour laws for women, alimony, and mothers' and widows' pensions.

Then came the admission which explains all. *"Not being lawyers we attempt to fulfill our citizenship duties by relying on what seems to us* the most logical legal opinion!"

If the legal opinions advanced by the men lawyers for the labor groups at the Hearing (which met with the apparent approval of the opposition), form the basis of their refusal to accept the amendment method for attainment of the same ends which we ALL seek, they should appoint some of their women to study constitutional law as it is now applied to women.

Nothing new in the way of argument was brought out in their testimony, nor was there any recognition of the generally accepted fact that the part women have taken in war industry, when restrictive legislation affecting women only was generally inoperative, has proved the fallacy of the need for such sex legislation.

In the five-minute rebuttal allowed her, Mrs. Miller cited one of the many decisions of the Supreme Court which refute the male argument that the Amendment would deprive the States of the police power and prevent the enactment of protective legislation.

In discussing the equal protection of the law clause of the Constitution, the Supreme Court said:

> "That the XIVth Amendment was not intended to and did not strip the States of their power to exert their lawful police authority, is settled, and requires no reference to authorities. . . . And it is equally settled, as the essential result of the elementary doctrine, that the equal protection of the law clause does not restrain the *normal* exercise of governmental power, but only *abuse** in the exertion of such authority. . . . The State has necessarily a wide range of discretion in distinguishing, selecting, and classifying, and it was declared that it was sufficient to satisfy the demand of the Constitution if a classification was practical, and not palpably arbitrary."

Continuing, Mrs. Miller said that it was the *arbitrary abuse of the police power, in placing restrictions* on women only, that should apply to all workers, under the same conditions, against which women protested and demanded relief through the Amendment.

She contended that every measure of legitimate protection sought by the opposition could still be obtained under the power to classify, which would remain unimpaired after adoption of the Equal Rights Amendment as long as classification was not based on sex.

Concluding as she began, Mrs. Miller reiterated that the demand of women is that they be recognized as citizens and persons under the protection of the Federal Constitution.

*Note: Italics ours.

Some Endorsements

UNITED STATES SENATE

September 19, 1945.

MISS ANITA POLLITZER,
National Woman's Party, Washington, D. C.

Dear Miss Pollitzer:

In the twenty-fifth anniversary year of women voting in our country, I want to take this occasion to tell you and your colleagues of the National Woman's Party with whom I have worked since suffrage days, that I believe the best way the United States Senate can fittingly commemorate the winning of the vote is to pass in this Session the companion piece of suffrage—the Equal Rights Amendment to the United States Constitution—which would give women voters throughout the United States equal justice under law.

Your organization has devotedly striven for this goal. As you know, I have been a pioneer with you for this Amendment since its introduction in Congress.

Both the Republican and Democratic planks of 1944 have endorsed the Equal Rights Amendment. The principle involved therein is clear and just.

The passage of the Equal Rights Amendment would be a fitting anniversary present to the women of America and I will do all I can to secure its passage.

With all good wishes, sincerely yours,

(*Signed*) ARTHUR CAPPER,
Senator from Kansas.

CHARLES H. TUTTLE

New York Attorney

I think that the Equal Rights Amendment is sound democracy as well as essential justice. Now that women are citizens and voters in their own right, they have equal responsibilities with men and should correspondingly have equal rights. Our country should aspire to complete partnership between the sexes in the full enjoyment of the proud privilege of American citizenship.

STATEMENT BY REV. DONALD B. CLOWARD

The Equal Rights Amendment is a constructive measure and should be passed. Any legislation ought to protect individuals in accordance with need or the hazard of the job. And until wages and salaries are adjusted to meet basic family responsibilities, women in commerce and industry should receive equal pay with men for the same skills and performance.

Numerous laws on the statute books seemingly enacted to protect women actually discriminate against them in favor of men. Only a uniform national law such as is proposed in the Equal Rights Amendment will correct this inequality.

White Plain, N. Y., September 18, 1945.

STATEMENT BY WORTH M. TIPPY

Secretary Emeritus, Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America

Washington, D. C., July 10, 1945.

I have reversed my point of view about the Equal Rights Amendment. I held to a widespread opinion among social workers that the Amendment would tend to break down protective legislation safeguarding women employed outside the home.

Time and the present war have completely changed my mind. Women should have wide open doors to employment. War-time industries have shown that they are equal to any jobs for which they are individually fitted by aptitude and training. A full employment program should include women who desire work outside the home; also equal opportunities for night and day work, equal pay for equal work, equal opportunity for advancement, and equal protection of health, safety, and seniority. These rights, as also to property, to their own children, and to democracy in the home, should have this final legal status in the Constitution of the United States to safeguard these rights, to correct unfair practices and legislation, and to set a standard before the Nation. That this should be an issue, and should be necessary, is a humiliating revelation of our social lag.

While not involved in the Equal Rights Amendment, the time must come when the homemaker will have equal recognition and honor in public thinking with the so-called employed woman, and equal rights with her husband in the common property and income.

Shop Talks

By ELLA M. SHERWIN

President, Industrial Women's League for Equality,

We know there are more than 1,000 national and state laws that discriminate against women.

Some of the most flagrant cases of discrimination on account of sex are found in the labor laws. Many states have minimum wage laws for women. Such laws discriminate against both men and women. Against women by permitting men to work for lower wages on a job than women are permitted to accept; against men by not establishing a floor under their wages. Several states now have minimum wage laws for all persons, but in most states such laws still apply only to women.

Hours laws, such as the eight-hour day law in many states, in the same way, discriminate against both men and women. Against women by permitting men to work unlimited hours, thereby making men the more desirable employees, enabling them to freeze women entirely out of certain occupations; against men, by making no effort to protect them against unreasonably long hours which may destroy their health and which certainly leave them no time for a private life.

We have a core room law in this state which provides that when women are employed in a core room, a partition must separate the room in which the women work from the ovens so that no fumes and gases from the ovens can possibly penetrate into the women's workroom. This is a discrimination against men, since no effort is made to protect their health against the dangers arising from inhaling gases and fumes from the ovens. Even the woman in the home is the victim of this law, since lack of protection for her husband working in a core room may result in his loss of health and even his life, thereby forcing the widow into industry.

We have a prohibition of night work, for women in factories and mercantile establishments "for the protection of their health and morals." Really, it is just plain discrimination against women in order to reserve a large number of jobs entirely for men.

In New York, as in most states, the limitation on women's hours and the prohibition of night work are not being enforced for the "duration". This because the nation—and our allies—need the services of American women in industry. Women may now do, for the benefit of others, the things they are forbidden to do for their own benefit and the benefit of their families in peace time. Does this mean that we are destroying the health and morals of American women in order to carry democracy to Europe and Asia? The health of working women has improved somewhat, due to increased wages and steady employment, which means more food and less worry.

We now face a new situation in which labor laws will play a new role, if we do not quickly amend them to give equal protection to men and women. With the labor laws in abeyance, women have gone into many, many new jobs where they have done the same work as men for the same wages men get; have joined the same unions where they pay the same dues as men for the protection of the same rights; where they have discovered what a lot of hokum are the arguments about what women can't do; where they are having a perfectly satisfactory life, and where they want to stay. If the war ends suddenly and the laws regulating women's work come automatically into force again, then just as suddenly women will find themselves being dropped from payrolls—many thousands of them—all over the United States. What will happen? Certainly women will be unable to enforce their union rights to any job that exacts work under conditions contrary to state law and they will be hopelessly out of luck in nonunion jobs. Women will learn the hard way that they must have the equal rights amendment in order to survive.

There will no doubt be a marked increase in the membership of the Industrial Women's League for Equality and in the National Woman's Party. But there will be a lot of hungry women, also a lot of vociferous men trying to retain their advantage in industry—men too shortsighted to see that their best interests lie where women's best interests also lie: in the revised labor laws which conform to the Equal Rights Amendment and complement the Federal Fair Labor Standards Act; laws providing equal maximum working hours, minimum wages, health and safety protection, for both sexes. As the Federal law places a ceiling over hours and a floor under wages in industries entering into interstate commerce, state laws are needed to do the same for intrastate industries. The object of the Federal law was to spread employment and prevent exploitation of labor. State laws modeled on the Federal law would go far toward producing the sixty million jobs estimated as necessary in postwar United States. * * *

(NOTE: *This speech was delivered before V-E Day, at the Annual Meeting and Conference, Syracuse, N. Y., May 5, 1945.*)

Maryland's Governor Speaks

Extracts from Address by Governor Herbert R. O'Conor of Maryland, on 97th Anniversary of Seneca Falls Convention, Station WBAL, Friday, July 20, 1945.

"* * * It can be said that the Seneca Falls Convention represented one of the most forward steps taken for the advancement of mankind. Certainly it was the first major concerted effort to remove the barriers which had prevented women from achieving any measure of equality with men throughout the years * * * Forces were set in motion at that memorable gathering that have achieved results which I am sure go far beyond the dreams of those early workers. * * * Before referring to the splendid part being played in the present day by women, the debt owing to the far-sighted women who blazed the trail years ago must be acknowledged. * * * Many were content to have the results achieved without asking any glory for themselves or credit to their names. Thinking of their sacrifices and of their unselfish efforts I am struck by the analogy drawn in the biography of the late Mr. Justice Cardoza, of the Supreme Court of the United States, which emphasized the characteristics and attributes of the persons who strive to attain an ideal.

"Quoting from an address by Mr. Justice Cardoza, the biographer gives his version of what portrays the spiritual precept as a 'submergence of self in the pursuit of an ideal; a readiness to spend one's self without measure prodigally, almost ecstatically for something which is great and noble.'

"By such efforts a great change was wrought and it can be proven that in the spheres of science, of business, of the professions, and of government, women have manifested their great abilities and have shown themselves worthy of great trusts and responsibilities. . . . Thus it is that today we find women sharing the burdens of work and responsibility in every single phase of State and National activity. Gone for the emergency and probably forever, is the time when women were limited to a very restricted part in the life of the community and country. Everyone of us is aware how many women are now engaged in avocations where they have, to all intents and purposes, achieved that equal economic basis with their fathers, husbands, brothers and sons which was envisioned in Mrs. Mott's prophetic Twelfth Resolution, asking for the securing to women of an equal participation with men in the various trades, professions and commerce.

"With all the great changes that have occurred affecting women, however, there is a continuing need for changed national thinking with regard to women's part in public activities today.

"Furthermore, in the future when the emergency shall have ended, and the need for women in productive fields consequently lessened or eliminated, America will be faced with the problem as to whether women will be satisfied to resume the relatively lesser part in American national life that was theirs in the past.

"This war not only has injected women into every field of endeavor much more vigorously than ever before, but its aftermath may find them holding on tenaciously to their newly won place, and ready to defend by every possible means, their increased participation in industry and Government. As a consequence, all thinking and planning for the post-war period will be predicated on recognition of this major new factor in the national picture. * * *

"It is highly interesting to note in this connection that industry now recognizes that there are certain important fields of manufacture in which women are admittedly more skillful than men. In the manufacture of precision instruments, for instance. In radio, in the manufacture of such items as parachutes, clothing and in a great variety of other production, the deft fingers and the intuitive judgment of women workers bids fair to win them a permanent place in the field of manufacture. * * *

"Unquestionably, too, woman's voice and influence will play a prominent part in the shaping of future plans for settlement of world affairs. Any final settlement that would fail to recognize the sentiments of the women of the world would be doomed to ultimate failure. * * *

"Yes, we need woman's influence in the world more than ever before. And it will be an influence based on reason rather than on woman's humane feelings alone. Woman has proven her competence to participate in all the many phases of American life and, by so doing, has enriched the fabric of American living beyond measure. In demanding and winning equality with men she will accept the responsibility of dealing with problems in a realistic way. The challenge of the future, the way in which women work along with men to insure maintenance of justice and peace throughout the world, will not only have a marked influence upon mankind in all the years ahead, but it will demonstrate that women are to continue the marked progress that has been theirs in the 97 years since the Seneca Falls Conference.

Rupert Hughes On The Equal Rights Amendment

THE Equal Rights Amendment still waits after years of broken promises. Aside from sheer laziness and procrastination and the lack of political necessity, the reasons given for denying women well-earned dues are simply pitiful. They are the same reasons exactly that were given when women pleaded to be allowed to study, to go to college, to enter professional life, and even to vote.

In every case the enemies of her freedom put on the benign and smirking mask of protecting her from her own weakness. They said, and they still say, that if the amendment were submitted to the people and passed, women would be denied the benefits of special laws. As if there were not thousands of special laws protecting men of certain classes, ages, and disabilities temporary or permanent.

What rights women have been granted have always been withheld to the last possible moment, and then yielded as stingily as possible.

Along with this robbery has always gone the most extravagant flattery. Weak men call women the weaker sex. Stupid men deny women intelligence. Men, like the poet Tennyson, say, "When did women ever invent?" What did Tennyson ever invent?

If you read the house organs of the great aircraft companies and other war plants that offer prizes for inventions, you will find great numbers of them won by clever women.

Women are only now beginning to be inventors on a large scale because only recently have they been admitted in great numbers to a life among the great machines.

Mechanical inventions, like artistic creations, come only from colonies, from great numbers working along the same lines in competition and mutual stimulation. These push a few brilliant geniuses to the top.

Our country was settled by Europeans and we had been here for a century before a few colonies united for independence. We declared our independence in 1776, but fifty years later, the Rev. Sidney Smith was able to say:

"In the four quarters of the globe, who reads an American book? Or goes to an American play? Or looks at an American picture or statue?"

Then men of America needed time and competition to turn out works of art, and it was not long after Sidney Smith's taunt that Americans began to pour forth books that swept the world, plays and works of art that took the highest places.

Since then American women have kept well to the fore of American men in the field of fiction so far as popularity goes, and have not been inferior in the matter of high art.

In all countries where women have had a chance they have shown genius. Mme. Curie's work on radium revolutionized modern life and science. The New York branch of the American Chemical Society has just chosen a woman, Dr. Cornelia T. Snell, as its head. In all the great scientific laboratories women are taking an increasing share in every field.

Their achievements in the very highest fields of science, the most complex phases of mathematics, have given the lie to the tradition that their brains are mysteriously inferior to the male gray matter.

The reason that men have hitherto almost monopolized the glory in the arts and sciences has been simply this: that they have almost monopolized the field. Men have by various devices kept women from higher learning and higher opportunities for thousands of years and then ridiculed them for not being successful rivals. Pretending to save women's souls, men have starved their brains.

For ages men have been making fun of what goes on in women's minds—as if no male ever had foolish thoughts.

Here was this Austrian woman—Lise Meitner, sixty years old and unmarried. Being a Jewess, she had to flee from her native land because the superior race was going to annihilate the chosen race. Just before that, Fraulein Meitner had been working in a Berlin laboratory with Professor Otto Hahn, whose partner in science she had been for twenty years. They were following out some experiments begun by an Italian scientist, Professor Enrico Fermi, whom the Fascists in Italy had driven to America.

Miss Meitner and Professor Hahn invented a kind of microscope with which they could watch what happened when neutrons were fired into uranium at slowish speeds. They were startled to see that the bullet knocked into view a bit of the element called barium, though there had been none present before the bombardment.

As Dr. W. L. Lawrence writes: "It was like placing a duck's egg in an incubator and suddenly seeing it hatch out into a chicken."

This haunted Miss Meitner and she kept thinking of it. When she had to escape from Germany into Sweden, any male satirist, seeing her, would have said that her feminine, spinstery mind was doubtless thinking of knitting-stitches or how to catch a man, or some other frivolous stuff.

An old Latin satirist said: "A woman who meditates alone meditates evil." The great English essayist Addison said: "The woman that deliberates is lost." The witty Erasmus said: "A wise woman is twice a fool." I could go on quoting such masculine idiocies for days. How many great women they must have smothered in the course of centuries!—to the incalculable loss of humanity.

Finally along came Lise Meitner. Through her head ran thoughts far beyond the power of any of those male satirists even to understand. She began to jot down figures. She was a great mathematician in the highest realism. She got an answer finally, and it "proved". I can't even quote the figures with any more understanding than if I were to try to read an old Assyrian inscription. It had something to do with splitting an atom into two unequal parts and thereby releasing 200 million electron volts per atom, or an energy five million times greater than is released by burning coal.

The rest is history of so complicated a sort that it makes my masculine brain ache just to try to think of it.

It took a great many people a long while to collaborate on the atomic bomb, and it cost two billion dollars to turn it out. But a woman was, so to speak, the starter of the whole thing. A woman's thought like a neutron fired into uranium released male thoughts and they released further thoughts and so on till the atomic bomb released Japan from the war.

What I am getting at is this: that sex should no longer be taken as the test for inferiority or repression. It is the individual that counts.

For millions of years atomic energy has been inside the atom doing its work, holding the world together and breeding power. Suddenly a group of men and a woman find the secret of unlocking that power. And they end a nine-year war in a few days.

So for thousands of years women's power has been locked away unused. The time has come to release it for the benefit of the world. It means doubling the number of workers for peace, welfare and progress. It means that the beautiful partnership of men and women in love and in marriage shall be carried on outside the home for the sake of the home and the world.

This war has taught millions of women to live among great and terrible machines and manage them; to handle precision instruments with delicate deftness; to deal with explosives; and to toil at the roughest, heaviest tasks.

Why should war free them and peace deprive them of the equality they have earned?

Until the Equal Rights Amendment is passed there is a blot on our escutcheon.

We are now going to free all nations and help feed them. But liberty, like charity, should begin at home.

(Radio Talk by Rupert Hughes from Los Angeles August 18, 1945)

Campaigning During The Congressional Recess

By ANITA POLLITZER
Vice-Chairman, Congressional Committee

PREVIOUS issues of Equal Rights have carried accounts of the campaign conducted by the World Woman's Party and the National Woman's Party at San Francisco for equality between men and women in the United Nations Charter.

After the Charter embodying equal rights for men and women was a reality, Mrs. Lloyd Williams, national vice chairman of the Woman's Party, and I left San Francisco and hastened to the States most important to the equality campaign, as far as the Senate was concerned. These were Nevada, home state of the Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee; New Mexico, home state of the Chairman of the Sub-committee; and Wyoming and Utah, home states of leading members of the Committee.

In fact, the United States Senate was never long out of our minds even while in San Francisco. During the Conference, Edith Goode of Vermont and Alice Morgan Wright of New York, two of the representatives of the National Woman's Party attending the Conference, wrote and circulated widely the following stirring petition which expressed so perfectly our thoughts:

"PETITION

"To the Chairman and Members of the Judiciary Committee of the United States Senate:

"The voice of mankind has been heard in San Francisco demanding a guarantee of human rights without discrimination because of race, creed or sex.

"Women of several countries are now united in their demand for civil, political and economic equality. They have made their demand known to each other through their women delegates and representatives in San Francisco.

"Women of the United States who desire to have in their country equality under the law now respectfully submit that responsibilities and burdens consequent upon the war and inevitable in building peace have been placed upon women as well as men. We ask you to remember also the legal discriminations which still exist in various States against women; to recognize the justice of their demand for the removal of these discriminations, and to endow them with the effectiveness of full citizenship. * * *

"We respectfully suggest that our country, which has taken the initiative in calling together the United Nations for the writing of a Charter to proclaim and to protect human rights, should be the first to grant those rights to its own citizens in full measure and to lead the advance of democracy throughout the world."

Our first stop after California was Nevada, the State of Senator Pat McCarran, Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, and, therefore, the most important.

Prior to our visit to Nevada, Mrs. Robert Horton, of Wyoming, Northwestern Regional Chairman for the National Woman's Party, had been in this state in the effort to form a State Branch of the Woman's Party. The women she had interested gave us an enthusiastic welcome. In Reno, we held well-attended meetings, the first at the Riverside Hotel on July 9; another at the home of Mrs. C. D. Jameson. Representative groups attended both meetings.

Mrs. Harriet Spann, who came to the luncheon meeting, told the group she was a member of the Platform Committee of the Democratic Party at Chicago, and had worked there with Senator McCarran for the Equal Rights Amendment plank.

At these meetings there was a strong sentiment in behalf of prompt and favorable action by Congress on the Amendment. A nucleus for a Woman's Party Committee for Nevada was formed.

Before we left Nevada, Governor Carville resigned the Governorship and was appointed to the United States Senate. Following the news of Governor Carville's appointment, Mrs. Arentz, widow of Congressman Arentz of Nevada, motored us to Carson City to urge him to give strong support to the Amendment. This he promised, during the interview.

Our next State on this cross-country trip was Utah, the home of Senator Murdoch, member of the Judiciary Committee. Our Utah Chairman, Mrs. Edward Scherer, had been appointed by Mrs. Horton, Regional Chairman, on a recent organizing visit to Utah, during which Mrs. Horton had formed a Utah Committed for the Woman's Party. The arrival of Mrs. Williams and myself provided an opportunity for Mrs. Scherer to bring together interested women to hear a discussion of the Amendment at a meeting at the Hotel Newhouse. Mrs. Amy Brown Lyman, outstanding crusader for women's rights and former president of the National Women's Relief Society of the Mormon Church, attended the meeting and made a stirring appeal for the Equal Rights Amendment.

Mrs. Spafford, President of the National Woman's Relief Society, comprising 135,000 women, called together the members of her Board who were in the city so that we could address them.

Then, because July 19 was approaching, the anniversary date of the first Woman's Rights meeting ever held in the world, we asked Mrs. Scherer to make an appointment for Mrs. Williams and myself to see Utah's Governor Herbert B. Maw. We asked him for a proclamation calling on the citizens to celebrate Seneca Falls day, which he gave at once. His splendid proclamation was printed in the July-August issue of Equal Rights, page 47.

While in Salt Lake City, Mrs. Williams and I called on political leaders, among them, Mr. I. A. Smoot, Postmaster of Salt Lake City, former National President of the Postmasters Association of the United States, and nephew of the late Senator Read Smoot. Mr. Smoot gave the following statement:

> "Nobody did more for woman suffrage than Electa Bullock, my grandmother. She was Utah's Commissioner at the World's Fair in Chicago. She was delegate to Washington with Susan B. Anthony in behalf of woman suffrage. She campaigned in Utah, the second state to grant women the right to vote and was one of the most brilliant women of our state. I take equal rights for women as a matter of course. I regard the Equal Rights Amendment as a follow-up of the suffrage Amendment. Equal Rights before the law should be a principle of government."

As we reached Cheyenne, Wyoming, our next state, we noticed an atmosphere of excitement everywhere. It was the week of the world-famed Cheyenne Rodeo. Mrs. Dean Covert, the capable Vice-chairman of our Wyoming Branch, was at the station to greet us. A luncheon-meeting had been arranged by Mrs. Ruth Nelson Edelman, our State Chairman, and by Mrs. Covert. It was attended by Mrs. Lester Hunt, wife of the Governor; Mrs. Miller, wife of the ex-governor, and representatives of women's organizations from Cheyenne and Laramie. Mrs. Robert Horton, our Regional Chairman, who has done such exceptionally valuable work in the West for the equality cause, brought a delegation from Laramie, and contributed to the discussion. We stressed that Wyoming, the first state to grant women the right to vote, can have an important share in the passage of the Amendment; that Wyoming's whole delegation is actively helping; that Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney, as a member of the Judiciary Committee and Sub-committee, has given invaluable aid.

The following resolutions were unanimously passed at the meeting at Cheyenne, August 7, 1945:

> **"Whereas,** our Senators Joseph C. O'Mahoney and E. V. Robertson and our Representative Frank A. Barrett have rendered active service for the Equal Rights Amendment,
>
> **Resolved,** That we express our appreciation and ask them to do all in their power to secure passage of the Equal Rights Amendment by Congress as soon as it convenes."

Another resolution, adopted at the same meeting, read:

> **"Whereas,** Wyoming was the first state to grant women the right to vote, and
>
> **"Whereas,** Wyoming is generally known as the equality state and is proud of its tradition of fairness to women, and
>
> **"Whereas,** Governor Lester C. Hunt has endorsed the Equal Rights Amendment,
>
> **"Be It Resolved,** That we express our thanks to Governor Hunt for his support of equality, to the end that

as soon as the Equal Rights Amendment is passed by Congress, Wyoming may be the first state to ratify."

Our next state was New Mexico, the home of Senator Hatch, Chairman of the Judiciary Sub-committee charged with considering the Equal Rights Amendment. First came a trip into the heart of the Spanish portion of New Mexico with Georgia O'Keeffe, a Founder of the National Woman's Party, whom we visited at Abiquii. From there we drove twice to Santa Fe for two splendid meetings at the home of Mrs. William Field. These were the first Equal Rights Amendment meetings held in Santa Fe, and interest was keen. Since New Mexico's Senators, Senator Hatch and Senator Chavez are both warm supporters of the Amendment, resolutions of thanks were passed.

After the second meeting, it was decided by the women present that a New Mexico Branch should be formed, and this was accomplished before we left. Mrs. Thomas Wood Stevens, distinguished for her knowledge of Indian culture, was named as Chairman.

In Chicago, on the last lap of our trip, a Woman's Party meeting, arranged by Mrs. Charles Robbins, Illinois State Chairman, was held on August 10 in the Stewart Building. Here we gave the story of the equality provisions in the United Nations Charter and the story of the Amendment in the Senate. The following resolution was passed:

> **"Resolved,** That the meeting held in the Stewart Building, August 10, 1944, request the Illinois Senators and Congressmen to do all in their power to urge an immediate favorable report from the Senate Judiciary Committee and to the end that the Equal Rights Amendment may be promptly submitted to the State Legislatures for ratification and the platform promises be kept."

We concluded our trip of two and a half months with the conviction that the West is rallying to Equal Rights as it did to Suffrage. Both Mrs. Williams and I felt at the end of the trip that victory for the Equal Rights Amendment could soon be realized through the demand of women.

Celebrations And Radio Programs

In addition to the celebration of the 97th Anniversary of the Seneca Falls Convention, carried on at National Headquarters in Washington, D. C., on July 19th, 1945, some of the following celebrations took place over the country.

MARYLAND—July 20, broadcast in honor of Seneca Falls Day by Governor O'Conor* over WBAL, 7:45 p. m., twelve minutes; July 27, annual meeting for the election of officers and a dinner at the Hotel Stafford in honor of Seneca Falls Day.

MASSACHUSETTS—Extract from letter from Mrs. Betty Gram Swing, The Hidden House, 74½ Pinckney Street, Boston, Mass., July 10, 1945. "I am having a party on the 19th in honor of Susan B. Anthony as my contribution to the cause. The little garden is small but the house, dating from 1803, is charming. It is my way of carrying out the wishes of you wonderful people at Headquarters."

MISSOURI—July 19, celebration in charge of Miss Tiera Farrow, State Chairman.

NEVADA—July 19, meeting for Mrs. Lloyd Williams and Miss Anita Pollitzer at Reno.

NEW YORK—Albany. Luncheon on the 97th anniversary of the Seneca Falls Convention. Alice Morgan Wright and Edith Goode, just returning from the United Nations Conference at San Francisco, were the speakers at the luncheon.

New York City, July 19—Reception for Nora Stanton Barney at the Gramatan Hotel, Bronxville, at 3 p. m., arranged by Mrs. Edna Capewell, chairman, Twenty-seventh Congressional District, N. Y. State Branch of the N. W. P. Mrs. Nora Stanton Barney spoke on Women's Status in the United States of America, 1848-1945.

NORTH DAKOTA—July 19, meeting and broadcast at Bismarck, N. D., arranged by the Branch chairman, Mrs. Mary Owens.

PENNSYLVANIA—July 19, dinner at the Colonial Dames Garden, Philadelphia, arranged by Mrs. Mary Stockton Brown, chairman of the Philadelphia Branch. Chief speaker was Mrs. Edwina Avery, former chairman, Government Workers' Council.

Radio Programs

Station KYW, July 16, by Mary Stockton Brown, Philadelphia, on 97th Anniversary Seneca Falls Convention.

Station WMAL, July 19, Mrs. Izetta Jewel Miller, on Seneca Falls Convention, on Ruth Crane's hour.

Station WOL, July 23, Mrs. Jessie Street, of Sydney, Australia, spoke on equal rights' provisions in the United Nations' Charter, on Marshall Adams' hour.

Station WWDC, September 3, Labor Day, Mrs. Harvey Wiley spoke on topic "Is Organized Labor an Asset to Women Workers?" on program of Esther Van Wagoner Tufty.

*For Extracts from Governor O'Conor's speech, see page 57.

Mrs. Pankhurst's Statue Plant Fund Appeal

So many old Suffragettes are passing away that it has become difficult to keep a plant always in the vase designed for this purpose by Sir Herbert Baker and placed in front of the Statue in London, England.

It has been decided, therefore, to raise a fund, the interest on which will be enough to ensure that the vase will always be filled with a plant.

It is estimated that an investment of £300 will be required for this. Moyses Stevens Ltd., of Victoria Street, have undertaken to provide the plant and to renew it when necessary.

Although unprotected by sandbags, the Statue remains entirely untouched by the bombs which have fallen around it. Especially as a thank offering for this, there ought to be many of the old friends who helped to put up the Statue who would like now to send a donation so that the memorial to their great leader will still be cared for when all who loved and followed her have gone.

Committee: Mrs. Helen Archdale, Mrs. Rosamond Massy, Miss Rachel Barrett, and Miss Winifred Mayo.

Please send your contributions to Miss Doris Stevens, Mt. Airy Road, Croton-on-Hudson, New York, who has accepted the Committee's invitation to receive them in the United States and to forward them to the British Committee.

(EDITOR'S NOTE: *This lovely statue is in the garden quite close to the Houses of Parliament. I had the pleasure of paying homage to this great woman, who had done so much for us, in 1938, when on a visit to London.*)

Letter From Mrs. Pethick-Lawrence

President of the World Woman's Party for Equal Rights

London, England, August 14, 1945.

My dear Alice Paul:

It was such a great joy to get your letter of July 5th. Just about that time I was with my husband helping him with his election campaign in East Edinburgh. No doubt you know by this time, that he was re-elected and that the Labour Party came back with a tremendous majority. They formed a Government and my husband became a member of the cabinet and is now Secretary of State for India. This necessitates his leaving the House of Commons to become a member of the Upper House. We have not yet used our new title. When we do it will be Lord and Lady Pethick-Lawrence of Peaslake (Peaslake being our country home).

You will know of course that 22 women have been returned to Parliament—one Conservative, one Liberal, and 20 Labour. They held a big meeting at the Central Hall, Westminster, on the eve of the meeting of Parliament. I could not go as I was away from London, but my husband went in my place. It was a most successful gathering and we are greatly pleased that Ellen Wilkinson has been given a post as Minister of Education. Dr. Edith Summerskill, who is a grand fighter, has become Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Food. We very much hope that we are going to make history for the woman movement in this country before very long.

I was most interested to read about the outcome of the San Francisco Conference in your paper. There was a good article by Alice Morgan Wright. Have just had a most interesting letter, with newspaper cuttings, from Alice Wright on the San Francisco Conference. I am so pleased that our cause had so much success.

As always, my beloved Alice Paul, I send you my homage, admiration and love. Ever yours,

(*Signed*) EMMELINE PETHICK-LAWRENCE.

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A Feminist Thinks It Over

By ALMA LUTZ

Where Do We Go From Here?

WITH the war behind us, we are looking forward to the building of a better world and we are confident that women are needed as partners in the tremendous task that lies ahead. No longer is woman's indirect influence enough, no longer can she be content to be merely an auxiliary to carry out men's plans. The time has come when she, too, must share in formulating policy.

The war years have proved that women in every country are qualified and ready for this job. The United Nations Charter has recognized this in declaring for the equal rights of men and women and against distinctions and discriminations because of sex.

Now the immediate question before us is "Just how much are we in the United States in tune with and in sympathy with these principles?" Ostensibly we are for equal rights for men and women. Twenty-five years ago after a campaign of 72 long years women won the vote. Since then women have advanced in business and the professions and to minor government offices. But today not a woman is serving in the Senate; there is not a woman in the Cabinet; and 9 women as against 426 men are members of the House of Representatives. Only 234 women are members of 39 of our State legislatures. Women serve on juries in only 29 of our 48 States. In many of our States astonishing discriminations against women still exist, inherited from English common law and traditions of a past age. As late as 1943, the Controller General of the United States ruled that women were not persons under the Federal Constitution. The Equal Rights Amendment, which would take care of the legal aspects of our backwardness and would clear up the confusion regarding the status of women, has been introduced in Congress yearly since 1923 and is still pending. The adoption of this Bill of Rights for women would not only bring us up to date but would be a sign and proof to the nations of the world that we are sincere in our protestations of freedom and equality for all peoples and races.

Women have progressed far during the war. They have proved themselves indispensable in business and war industry. They have demonstrated their ability in jobs never before attempted by women. Their skill, dexterity, conscientiousness, and low accident rate have made them as valuable as men and more valuable in some jobs. The principle of equal pay for equal work has been written into law in six States and in many union contracts, but not only in justice to women but also because a lower wage rate for women would menace men's jobs. Many laws restricting women in industry were suspended during the war, proving to women and the public that women are able to work on an equal basis with men. Many women have found that they prefer night work to day work and that it did not harm them. They have also recognized that only as protective labor legislation covers both men and women can it actually raise standards in industry and be truly effective.

Women have also proved themselves indispensable in the Military Services. By Act of Congress, they served as WACs, WAVES, Marines, and SPARS as well as nurses, an integral part of their respective services, eligible for commissions and receiving the same pay and benefits as the men. Never before have they served their country in such numbers or so near the front.

But where do women go from here? This will depend largely upon women themselves. There is far too much talk of sending women back to the kitchen, of restricting their job opportunities in the guise of protection and social welfare. But it is estimated that 16,000,000 American women must continue to work to support themselves and their families. If women are wise, they will unite behind the Equal Rights Amendment and full employment. If they waver, if they slip back or let themselves be pushed back even to a pre-war status, they are sabotaging the foundations of a better world.

Dr. Maud Babcock Of Salt Lake City

Interpreter, Author, Traveler, Humanitarian

By ALICE HURST GARVEY

Each age produces its great—its giants. Lucky are those of us whose paths carry us near them. This very brief account of one of these great ones cannot even scratch the surface of her versatile achievements. She is a woman of FIRSTS. Her life contains an impressive list of them. She is an Easterner by birth, but a Westerner by adoption.

Dr. Babcock's love of literature is inborn. She is a genius in the interpretation of the printed page. To her it is a living thing. She finished in the best school of elocution and acting of her time, and then later studied in Europe. While teaching voice and physical training for women in Harvard University in 1892-93, she met students from Utah in her classes, who were so much impressed by her ability that they asked her to become a member of the faculty of the University of Utah—the first woman member of the faculty and the one to render the institution the longest service—fifty years.

At the University of Utah she organized and developed both the departments of speech and physical training. Under her leadership the first college dramatic club in the United States came into being. In this and in the "Little Theatre" movement, because she also established the first "Little Theatre" west of the Mississippi, she has directed and produced more than three hundred plays.

Dr. Babcock is world traveled. She has conducted six educational tours to the Orient; China, Japan, and the Philippines. She has delighted audiences with her literary interpretations in the United States, China, Japan, India, Egypt, Palestine, Rome, Florence, Paris, England, and Hawaii. She is an authority on Browning. She was the first woman to be elected president of the National Association of Teachers of Speech.

In addition to all this Dr. Babcock has found time to write five books dealing with literature and its interpretation. She has served for twenty-two years on the Board of the Utah State School for the Deaf and Blind, twelve years of which she was its Chairman. She is the first woman in America to serve in such a capacity. She visited schools of this type in the United States, also in Germany, England, and France, all of her own accord and at her own expense. She promoted China Relief in Utah and has worked untiringly in this field.

And this year when she thought she had retired, she was made Chaplain of the Utah State Senate. In this role she is another FIRST. She has remarked that this is her most "astounding" assignment.

To Dr. Babcock, however, the love and devotion of her many students is her greatest accomplishment. To them all she is affectionately known as "Miss B." She was their inspiration and in many cases their financial help. She lives in their hearts—indeed one of her most impressive FIRSTS is in the heart of Utah, the State of her adoption!